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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1813

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'SUBJECTIVISM,' INCONSISTENCIES IN STATE MANAGEMENT DISCUSSED

West German Commentary

Born IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 92, 20 Jun 80 pp 1-2

[Report from Berlin: "Criticism of GDR Bureaucracy." A translation of the Potsdam-Babelsberg STAAT UND RECHT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] The East Berlin review STAAT UND RECHT [No 6, 1980] has criticized the "many manifestations of subjectivism" in state management, especially the decision-making practices of authorities in the GDR. In addition to the incompetence of administrative staffs the review noted as a basic problem the complex and tangled structure of the GDR state apparatus where decision-making authorities and spheres of responsibilities are not precisely enough defined. Without thorough familiarity with and the observance of the differentiated spheres of responsibility, on the other hand, no successful progress in state management will be possible.

Qualitative Changes Needed

Potsdam-Babelsberg STAAT UND RECHT in German Vol 29 No 6, Jun 80 signed to press 22 Apr 90 pp 482-494

[Article by Prof Dr Gerhard Schuessler, rector, GDR Academy of Political Science and Jurisprudence; chairman, Council for Political Science and Jurisprudence Research, GDR Academy of Sciences; and Prof Dr Wolfgang Weichelt, director, Institute for the Theory of State and Law, GDR Academy of Sciences; corresponding member, GDR Academy of Sciences: "Development of Productive Forces and the Growing Role of the Socialist State." A translation of the Potsdam-Babelsberg STAAT UND RECHT article by Badestein and Panzer, cited in footnote 1, is published in JPRS 72989, 13 March 1979, No 1657, of this series, pp 28-39. The Erich Honecker article from the East Berlin EINHEIT, cited in footnote 4, is published under the heading "GDR Leaders Review National Achievements, Prospects on 30th Anniversary" in JPRS 74590, 16 November 1979, No 1738 of this series, pp 14-33; a translation of the Mittag article cited in footnote 4 is published in JPRS 74531, 6 November 1979, No 1950, of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS, pp 35-46]

[Text] At the present time political scientists and jurists in the GDR are preparing themselves for the conference on topical issues of the role of the socialist state and socialist law in the further organization of the developed socialist society, which is to meet in November 1980. The scientific interest of the conference is comprehensive, because no aspect of social life remains untouched in one way or the other by state and juridical actions. Of the utmost importance is the issue of the efficacy of the state and the law for the speedier development of the productive forces in the socialist society, the improvement of the capacity of the national economy, because this development is needed in order to implement the main task formulated by the party of the working class in its unity of economic and social policy even in the difficult foreign trade and foreign political conditions now prevailing. The issues involved here enjoyed growing attention in recent years by political science and jurisprudence also.¹

The scientific evidence collected in these studies culminate in the realization that the active role of the state and the law is steadily more strongly defined in the stage of the organization of the developed socialist society and encourages the productive forces of the socialist society. In practice this is demonstrated in the accomplishments achieved in the economic and social spheres, the plan-lieness and continuity of the development of the socialist economy and the stability of the GDR economic system.

The growing role of the state and the law in the organization of the socialist society may not be viewed simplistically by merely noting the quantitative expansion of the sphere of state management and legal regulation. It is reflected mainly in the fact that the planned management of social development must be carried out in new and more complex conditions which offer greater challenges to its quality, the extent of its scientific knowledge and social efficacy. From this aspect it is one of the main tasks more thoroughly to explore the actual meaning of the interrelations between objective economic requirements and the organization of state management and planning in present conditions, and to transfer to management the conclusions arising therefrom.

Of paramount importance here is the need to recognize the dynamism and intensity between objective requirements and the organization of political power. Characteristic here is the increasing permeation of the exercise of political power and its forms and methods by the strategic targets and tasks of SED economic policy. In the framework of total policy as set out in the SED Program, economic policy occupies a preeminent place. At the same time in this case also we are not concerned with volume expansion alone but indeed in the first line with qualitative changes in the content and forms of state management and planning as well as its legal organization.

At this time perfection of state activities means primarily its consistent orientation to greater output in the national economy, the conversion of the national economy to intensively expanded reproduction, the priority development of the material-technical base of socialism, the closer and more effective coupling of the benefits of socialism with the scientific-technological

revolution, the achievement of a significant rationalization push and the improvement of product efficiency and quality. The economic-organizational function of the socialist state is at this time determined by the accomplishment of these strategic economic tasks as drafted by the Tenth and Eleventh SED Central Committee Plenums. Insofar it differs from earlier development periods of the socialist state. Interesting and relevant from the scientific standpoint is precisely this changed content which calls for the further evolution of state forms and management methods, the juridical structure of state management, because it sets criteria for efficient state management in practice. It is evident at the same time that the other functions of the socialist state assume closer and novel interrelations with the economic-organizational function, so that consequences arise also for the realization of these functions.²

The interest of scientific researchers is not called upon with regard to the basic functions of the socialist state "as such," but research is needed regarding their actual historical and current operational conditions or implementation conditions. These are precisely the issues which, in everyday life, require a change in management methods. The need for a more definite orientation of our entire research toward a precise analysis of state and legal practice must be emphasized from this aspect also.

What is the theoretical and practical relevance of these issues?

1. In the present stage of development the consistent implementation of the united economic and social policy has moved to center stage of the exercise of political power due to the further rapid increase in the output of the national economy. Also largely dependent on our handling of this assignment is the reliable defense of the socialist society and its citizens.
2. By its definition and dynamism economic policy determines the content and form of state activity. The more dynamic the economic processes, the greater the challenge to the expertise, the foresight and the ability for rapid implementation of the organs of state management and planning at all levels.
3. The implementation of economic policy happens by way of the exercise of political power, that is not automatically but always as a consequence of the conscious action of people. "Compelling circumstances" may affect situations, they cannot relieve people from decision-making. The speed, precision and creative initiative displayed in the implementation of policy are determined by ideological processes which characterize the scientific approach to the task to be accomplished, the comprehension of inevitable connections and interrelations of economic strategy and overall policy, and the requirements arising therefrom for management and planning. It follows that the greatest attention is due the study, the profound textual and comprehensive understanding of the party resolutions as well as their actual and creative implementation. Any underestimate of this aspect of state activity is bound to result in contradictions between the challenges to management and its actual standard, its potential and actual efficiency.

4. The efficiency of the state management process more and more depends on the efficacy of the total system of state and legal factors, their coordinated operation which directly or indirectly affects economic development, that is on the efficacy of management, planning and control processes, including the regulation, orientation and organization of individual behavior.

The following are part of the total of direct influential factors of the socialist state

- a) The decisions of competent state organs regarding economic-strategic tasks and the necessary operational decisions to ensure the planned efficient development of the entire national economy as well as the legally mandatory state measures arising therefrom,
- b) State planning and balancing as well as the state system to stimulate the interest of the collectives and the individual in direction of the creative realization of total societal interests and their consistent implementation, which also takes place within legal limits,
- c) The constitutionally organized socialist organization of the economy and the organization of management relations within the total system of economic management,
- d) The legally regulated control mechanism for the independent organization of coordination relations as well as delivery and service relations by combines, enterprises and other economic facilities,
- e) The system of legal standards for the control, regulation and organization of the labor and exchange relation in the meaning of the growing evolution of the nature of the socialist lifestyle,
- f) The system of legal standards for preventing disruptions in the economy, for the defense of socialist property and the protection of the labor force,
- g) Operational instruction and supervision as well as state measures for the appraisal, generalization and incorporation of the most progressive experiences, for which general legal duties already apply but not yet any universal regulation,
- h) The steady perfection of socialist democracy in management (socialist democracy exerts direct as well as indirect influence on economic capacity; it permeates all factors listed earlier and, at the same time, transcends them; we will return to this topic later and in greater detail).³

All these factors exert a specific effect on economic activity. To achieve the greater efficiency of the overall system of these factors of state influence it will be necessary mainly to observe and thoroughly analyze their joint operation. To be dealt with here also are the textual issues of the application of democratic centralism in accordance with the current

objective requirements of development. One of the outstanding processes in this respect is the development of the socialist organization of the economy and the related further organization of the system of state management and planning with regard to the national economy. It emerges that the influence of the state and the law on the development of the productive forces operates as a matter of course by way of production conditions and involves the further all-round expansion of socialist production conditions, socialist relations between individuals and their collectives, in the social reproduction process. The decree on state combines, combine enterprises and state enterprises of 8 January 1979 reflects this further development and, simultaneously, shows that qualitatively new forms of democratic centralism are now emerging, which correspond to the further expansion of socialist production conditions, and by means of which the management and organization of economic operations proceeds on the basis of a complete and expanded reproduction process in the combines. The application of democratic centralism⁴ largely rests on a combination of central state management and the independent responsibility of the combines, in order even more closely to combine the benefits of the socialist social order--largely represented by its production conditions--with the scientific-technological revolution, carry out the transition to intensively expanded reproduction in the economic units and the entire national economy, as well as fully orient economic operations to output growth and efficiency. The independent responsibility of combines here refers largely to the responsibility for the accomplishment of total economic tasks. It unites with the responsibility for the management of the intensively expanded reproduction process of the combine. This structure of economic management, based on democratic centralism, also implies consequences for the responsibility of central state management. This was clearly recorded at the Tenth and Eleventh Plenums of the SED Central Committee.⁵

The task therefore arises for political science and jurisprudence to analyze the qualitative features in the interrelations between the central organs and the combine based on the responsibilities of these respective management levels, in order to encourage their precise completion and efficiency for the implementation of the decree referred to above. The application of democratic centralism in the field of economic management by no means implies the diminution of central state management in favor of the combines. Actually we have here the continued pursuit of the steady trend in economic management, which was always characterized by the fact that the central organs must devote themselves from the overall economic aspect to provide those conditions which make for the most effective management of production.

It is one of the crucial aspects of this responsibility of the central organs to ensure that the operation of the individual economic unit fully responds to the needs of the national economy. An important point here is this: By their strategic decisions the central state organs must provide a scientifically backed and mandatory orientation for the development of science and technology as well as other qualitative processes of the national economy. They must also, by coordinating processes significant to more

than the respective industries, decisively assist the combines fully to meet their responsibilities in all aspects of their operation. The development of the responsibility of organs directly managing output always maintains a certain and objectively present interrelation with the rise in the responsibility of the state organs. The total system of the national economy can function only when its parts are functioning; at the same time the latter depend on the further perfection and organization of the total system on a scientific basis.

At the present time the application of democratic centralism is also reflected in the growing activism of the local organs of the state power in the economic sphere and the rise in their responsibility for the accomplishment of total state tasks. Here also we note a development process directed to the increasingly better utilization of the benefits of the socialist society. That applies to the unreserved assurance of plan fulfillment as well as to cooperation with the combines. Crossing here are not two spheres of responsibility with different interests; indeed the cooperation of local organs and combines is based on their joint responsibility for finding effective solutions in the interest of total economic development. That is why we must have a further expansion in the interrelations between the local state organs and the combines.

Here we certainly and clearly see the extent to which the realization of democratic centralism must currently be oriented to the assurance and the reinforcement of the complex nature of state economic management. It must at one and the same time secure the coordinated and comprehensive operation of the total system of the factors of state influence. This calls for greater attention to the fact that all state instruments and the entire management operation achieve the greatest possible efficiency only if they mesh meaningfully in practice also. Planning, balancing and contract produce the desired result only if they are synchronized and their united operation is secured by the corresponding state regulations. The labor code's demand for outstanding performance, quality work and observance of labor discipline can bear fruit only if it is consciously realized in day-to-day management. If, for example, the performance principle is handled wrongly insofar as downtime occurs in the working week and must be balanced at the weekend at the price of higher expenditure, this is not something to be blamed on the labor code. The efficacy of the labor code directly depends on the scientific organization of work, its precise management and the realization of democratic principles which guarantee the cooperation of the working people. Here the totality of the factors of state influence on the management of the national economy joins with the overlapping issue of the development of socialist democracy which permeates the operation of these factors also. The entire operation of the central organs of the state power, local state organs, combines and enterprises, all legislation and the administration of justice are not designed in this sphere either merely to perfect a technical mechanism; their aim is to help the initiative and the activism of the working people evolve to a steadily better effect in the accomplishment of the economic and scientific-technological

task. The impressive results in the accomplishment of the main task, the sociopolitical and economic tasks, were achieved wherever the creative and democratic activism of the working people was developed and purposefully deployed. These results also demonstrate that the collective and conscious as well as purposeful cooperation of all social forces for the preparation, decision and achievement of the objective development demands confronting society as a whole evolve increasingly as the essential meaning of socialist democracy by enabling the individual to appreciate the social as well as the direct or indirect personal usefulness of his own work.

It is increasingly evident that the starting point of all reflections on the practical perfection of socialist democracy (characterized in the party program as the main trend of the development of the socialist state) may not be represented by abstract democratic principles to be satisfied, but by factual and textual issues of the respective problem from all its economic, political, social, cultural and ideological-educational aspects. We cannot admit the development and perfection of socialist democracy "per se," that is unrelated to the factual-textual tasks of state management or, in the first place, of state economic management. Within this framework and in this context, though, the democratic principles of socialist state management obtain their specific and crucial weight, their textual definition. In its capacity as a direct and indirect state and social factor, democracy may then exercise its encouraging and organizing influence on the economy, the development of social productive forces and productivity, the organization of socialist production conditions, social and cultural life, the working and living conditions of the people. Its content, form and social efficacy will in turn be enriched by the economic, political and social-cultural development processes and demands.

To this day many phenomena of subjectivism in state management, especially in decision-making, are caused by an inadequate and, especially, insufficiently comprehensive analysis of the social factors crucial for the respective decision, in other words of the political, economic, social, demographic, psychological and other factors and processes which are linked with correspondingly far reaching conclusions on foreseeable, possible, avoidable or unavoidable consequences of the decision to be adopted. We all know that every economic decision involves foreseeable political, social and ideological consequences and prerequisites, just as every decision in the ideological, cultural, social or any other sphere of social life has its economic, social and other prerequisites and the same consequences. This also includes the analysis and knowledge of the possible effects of the factors of state influence earlier discussed on the development of the motive forces of social progress.

Not only the increasing social division of labor and the related greater extent of the interlinking of all spheres of social life, which call upon the comprehensive nature of state management are involved. Also important are the increasing meshing, the growing complexity of the political, economic, social and ideological-educational prerequisites and effects of

of state decisions, the combination of state management tools, which require the constant and comprehensive analytical work of the state organs. The more specialized and subdivided the organization of the state management apparatus itself, the more necessary this work which is certainly not merely an administrative-organizational but a highly responsible political operation.

The entire management apparatus must therefore be so structured and oriented that this comprehensive analysis, its conclusions and suggestions for decision-making arise gradually at every stage. Actually this aspect of state work is closely tied to the democratic activism of the masses. Provided it is consciously instituted in this spirit, close cooperation between the personnel of the state apparatus and the deputies on the one hand and the working people, their social organizations and collectives--in enterprises, residential districts and electoral districts--on the other yields a wealth of social data, and state management must systematically collect, process, condense and collate them in order to arrive at the appropriate results. The more specialized the individual work processes in state management, the more accurately must every member of the staff and every specific sphere know and be able to handle the respective job in the overall system of the comprehensive management process, know exactly what the job means in the context of the success of the whole, and how it is necessarily affected by the work in related or more remote spheres.

A fundamental condition for the assurance of the necessarily growing complexity in the state management process is the exact definition of responsibilities including the responsibility for the organization of the necessary cooperation in the accomplishment of actual tasks. That applies to the various spheres of state management as well as to its various levels. This responsibility follows upon objective development processes; it can neither be imposed arbitrarily nor is it unalterable. Its significance for everyone involved in the management process is all the greater--and that holds true however minute it may appear in its dimensions--, the greater the division of labor of the organization of the total social management process as such, and the greater therefore the reciprocal dependence of the various operations.

The successful development of the necessary comprehensiveness in the state management process is impossible without the accurate knowledge and observation of the differentiated spheres of responsibilities and accountabilities. A new topicality and even greater significance must be assigned in the current conditions of the implementation of the main task to the well known and often published truth that comprehensiveness cannot be achieved by blurring responsibilities and competences. It requires their precise definition, the combination and consistent implementation of various responsibilities at the proper time and to the proper extent.

In the present development conditions of the socialist society in the GDR the call for the greater division of labor and closer planned cooperation

confronts the various organs of the state apparatus with more than a demand for refining their style of operation. As a form of the perfection of socialist democracy we are dealing here with an objective development trend in the total political organization of the socialist society. Cooperation between state organs, social mass organizations and the collectives of the working people, their increasing involvement in the management of the state have always been a feature of socialist state management. In present-day conditions they are acquiring qualitatively new features by representing the cooperation of all social forces--as planned and involving the division of labor--in their state and non-state political organizational forms according to a common, long-range conception on the basis of the resolutions of the party of the working class. The political and organizational independence of each of these organizations remains entirely untouched thereby. Involved here is the coordinated organization of closer and more purposeful cooperation which, by its rationalization effect, helps to produce and make socially profitable the greater dimension of conscious social activism of men, the better organization of mass actions required for further social progress. The correct constitutional appreciation that every element of the political organization of the socialist society exercises specific, unmistakable (and indispensable) functions in the construction of the socialist society, is complemented and further pursued in practice insofar as these functions may be optimally realized only if all elements cooperate in dividing the work in accordance with a common conception at the total societal as well as the local level and in all spheres of social life under the leadership of the working class. If we wish to achieve this, it is not enough for such cooperation to be stipulated in legislation and other legal regulations--although appropriate legislation may reinforce the effects of the law tending in this direction--, nor is it enough for the managing state organs to conduct ad hoc cooperation with the managing organs of the social mass organizations in the preparation and implementation of decisions. To become socially effective this principle must be implemented down to the basic cells of social life--enterprises, work collectives and residential districts in cities and villages--, not least to make the factors of state influence productive for economic processes in general.

The realization of this trend of the political organization of socialism anchors the socialist state deeper and deeper in the working masses, links it even more closely with their immediate interests and needs and, at the same time, encourages their activism for the implementation of total societal targets and needs. Insofar it also shapes and forms interests. Let us not forget that a variety of new interests is emerging especially in the cultural-intellectual sphere on the basis of the fundamental coincidence of interests and side by side with the traditionally and socioeconomically determined differences of interest. It has its economic roots in the matured material opportunities of the socialist society and its citizens for satisfying such specific personal interests. The emergence of this new variety of interests underlines the fact that socialism facilitates and encourages the development of the human personality. The political organization of the socialist society--and within it especially the elected state organs of

power, the people's representations at all levels-- , which, by the combination of all their elements must respectively shape and implement the mandatory total state will on the basis of the objective requirements of social development under the leadership of the party of the working class. At the same time it must ensure that this new variety of interests may evolve as an independent social activity of the people, develops and is realized in a socialist manner, that is not at the expense of society but for its benefit. Here also new conditions emerge for the work of the state organs, which are important for the operational possibilities of the factors of state influence on economic development and may, in certain circumstances, affect their trend of development.

The progressive organization of the developed socialist society, the development of modern productive forces, the growing social division of labor at national and international level, the greater dimension of interlinking and interdependence of the various production and living spheres of society, the growing agreement of the basic interests of the working classes and strata on the basis of the interests and the scientific ideology of the working class and the simultaneously increasing opportunities for the satisfaction of many personal interests of citizens, the burgeoning of their socialist personalities and, on the other hand, the increasingly acute international political and ideological class conflict and several other new conditions for the working of the political organizations in the socialist society in general and the socialist state in particular also emphasize the significance of socialist legality as a means of developing social consciousness and conscious discipline, buttressed by interior conviction. The consistent enforcement of socialist legality is also an indispensable condition for the efficacy of the entire mechanism of the factors of state influence on economic development. It is a necessary condition of conscious and organized social action; it is the more persistently effective the stronger the social forces themselves are involved in the supervision of the strict observance of legal standards and the implementation of the rules of the socialist relationships between people.

It goes without saying that the example of the state organs is decisive. The actions and results of the movement for exemplary order, discipline and security which, in this context, has fundamental theoretical and practical importance, persuasively show that, whenever the state organs take the lead in the observance and realization of socialist legality and demonstrate the necessary consistency, the people, social organizations and citizens in turn display the greatest readiness actively to support these efforts and make their own the cause of the struggle against legal dereliction. The work of the arbitration commissions and their greater social authority also underline these facts. This indicates that the readiness for public social control of the observance of socialist legality has generally risen and continues to increase. This is also evidenced by the operations of many local people's representations which act as socialist representational bodies in Lenin's meaning, in other words as organs which not only enact laws but also carry them out, simultaneously check their results, and thus are

essentially the authorized organs of a comprehensive and public control of legality. The results of the movement for exemplary order, discipline and security in combines, enterprises and other facilities as well as residential districts demonstrate that the consistent implementation of socialist legality also has large and direct economic effects, and that the separation let alone juxtaposition of plan fulfillment and legality nowhere produces objective justifications. This is clearly shown by those facts and figures which provide proof of the material and financial damage arising from derelictions of the law and criminal acts, not to speak of the loss of life and lasting damage to health resulting from such actions.

In addition to the direct reinforcement of the socialist legal order and the assurance of public confidence in the law, the greater and socially more and more productive activism of the people's representations, their permanent committees and deputies in the enterprises as well as, and increasingly so, in the residential districts, their close cooperation with the organs of justice, the social mass organizations, the work collectives and the respective technical organs of the councils for the enforcement of socialist legality has two significant politico-ideological results: Socialist state authority is strengthened--not in the meaning of the authority of a bureaucratic ruling apparatus which is elevated above the people and governs against them, but entirely in the meaning of the nature of the worker and peasant power as the social authority of the working class and its allies, the working masses of the people, who realize their own state power. And therefrom stems the second result: The broadening of the social base of the state power, the increase in the readiness and willingness and the conscious activism of the working people not only with regard to the fulfillment of the immediate economic and social tasks of the state but also to the cooperation in the realization and observance of the principles and rules of socialist community life and personal behavior needed for that purpose.

The strengthening of the socialist state and the development of socialist democracy are two aspects of a single process which leads equally to the consolidation of state authority and the steadily deeper anchoring of the socialist state in the working masses of the people, the increase in the conscious activism of the masses. The growing role of the socialist state does not mean the constant expansion of its administration; it does include in particular the further perfection of its organizing and mobilizing work by which the creative forces of society itself are aroused and purposefully mobilized for the conscious realization of common basic interests. The actual influence of some branches of the law, the planning, balancing and contract system, and so on, on the conscious action of people in the interest of the implementation of the economic goals must be studied more thoroughly and with the aim further to improve the efficacy of the law. In fact imperfect legal standards are not the main factor producing contradictions. What does produce them is inconsistency in the application of the law and other factors rooted in the ideological sphere of management. More profoundly to penetrate the operation of the total system of state management from this aspect as well as detailed issues of the system of its factors of influence

on economic development--that is a task for political science and jurisprudence in all spheres, arising with increasing emphasis from the requirements of social practice.

FOOTNOTES

1. See, for example, collective of authors led by U.-J. Heuer, "Wirksamkeit des Wirtschaftsrechts. Analysen, Probleme, Positionen" [Efficacy of Economic Law. Analyses, Problems, Positions], Berlin 1979; "The Economic Role of the Socialist State and Its Implementation by the Resources of the Law. Materials of the International Symposium of 24 and 25 June 1976 in Potsdam-Babelsberg," AKTUELLE BEITRÄGE DER STAATS- UND RECHTSWISSENSCHAFT, No 156, Potsdam-Babelsberg 1977; H. Badestein/W. Panzer, "Legal Problems of the Economic Concentration Process," STAAT UND RECHT 1978, pp 482 ff; M. Ebel/H. Hoffmann, "Topical Problems of the Realization of the Economic Role of the Socialist State in the GDR," STAAT UND RECHT 1978, pp 904 ff.
2. See K. Sorgenicht, "The Pivotal Problem of the Revolution," EINHEIT 1980, pp 366 ff.
3. See, for example, V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol 32, Berlin 1961, p 70; Vol 28, Berlin 1959, p 438; Vol 27, Berlin 1960, p 122; "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" [SED Program], Berlin 1976, p 44; "Leonid Brezhnev on the Draft of the New USSR Constitution. Address by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Constitutional Commission at the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee on 24 May 1977," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 6 June 1977, pp 3 f.
4. See E. Honecker, "The Victorious March of Socialism on German Soil," EINHEIT 1979, pp 904 f; G. Mittag, "Socialist Planned Economy for the Benefit of the People, for the Consolidation of our Republic," EINHEIT 1979, pp 931 ff.
5. See "10. Tagung des ZK der SED. Dem 30. Jahrestag der DDR Entgegen. Aus dem Schlusswort des Genossen Erich Honecker" [Tenth SED Central Committee Plenum. Toward the 30th Anniversary of the GDR. From the Closing Address by Comrade Erich Honecker], Berlin 1979, pp 190 ff; "Aus dem Bericht des Politburos an die 11. Tagung des ZK der SED. Berichterstat-ter: Genosse Erich Honecker" [From the Politburo Report to the Eleventh SED Central Committee Plenum. Reporter: Comrade Erich Honecker], Berlin 1979, pp 30 ff; W. Biemann, "Eleventh SED Central Committee Plenum. From the Speeches at the Discussion," as above, pp 97 ff.

11698

CSU: 2300

POLITICAL INACTIVITY, POOR WORK ATTITUDES EVIDENT AMONG YOUTH

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 95, 26 Jun 80 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "Young GDR Workers Politically Inactive--'Contradictions' Lead to 'Stagnation in Political Development.'" A translation of the East Berlin JUNGE GENERATION article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] The GDR communist youth organization FDJ [Free German Youth] should devote itself more in its practical work to the problems "at the turning points in the life of young people." This is what an SED ideologist called for in the periodical for FDJ functionaries, JUNGE GENERATION (No 6, 1980). Thus, he said, frequently the observation can be made still that FDJ members with an "active political attitude" at their entry into the working world "remain stationary or even become inactive in their development." He said that an important reason for this is the fact that these young people have been faced "with completely different problems" and have been confronted with "contradictions" in their working life. It is difficult for them to work out these problems without assistance. In the political-ideological work, if a conscious effort is not made to "deal with the new questions, problems, and contradictions," there could "occur a stagnation or a retrogression in the political-ideological development."

The SED ideologist also deplored the fact that violations of the performance principle in enterprises lead to a decreased readiness to seek achievements and a deficient working attitude on the part of the young person. Furthermore, the implementation of the socialist performance principle is being hampered by formalism in according material and intangible recognitions, as well as by misplaced tolerance toward mediocrity. He said that the FDJ must do a better job representing the interests of the young workers on this score and that wherever possible it must develop a climate "which encourages them to aspire to the highest achievements." It must not be permitted "that the presently still considerable percentage of young working people who do not possess the necessary training for their activity gets left behind."

SED Ideologist Discusses Deficiencies

East Berlin JUNGE GENERATION in German Vol 33 No 5, May 80 signed to press 8 Apr 80 pp 54-58 and No 6, Jun 80 signed to press 7 May 80 pp 43-48

[Report on the Conference on "The Role of Youth in the Continued Shaping of the Developed Socialist Society," by Dr Erhard Krueger, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee: "Part I: Youth and Developed Socialist Society" and "Part II: Work--What Is So Important About It?"]

[No 5, May 80 signed to press 8 Apr 80 pp 54-58]

[Text] "The Role of Youth in the Continued Shaping of the Developed Socialist Society" was discussed by more than 300 participants in a scientific conference on 28 and 29 February 1980 at the FDJ's Advanced School for Youth "Wilhelm Pieck."

The joint organizers were the Academy of Social Sciences, connected with the SED Central Committee, the Central Institute for Youth Research, Leipzig, the advanced school for youth, and the History Department of the Wilhelm Pieck University, Rostock.

The broad social interest displayed in the work of the conference revealed itself by the presence there of social scientists from a great variety of disciplines, functionaries and veterans of the party of the working class, of the government, of the mass organizations, of the industrial and agricultural enterprises, and naturally by the presence also of a large number of functionaries and activists in the FDJ. Paul Verner, a member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee, opened the conference. Egon Krenz, nominee for the Politburo of the SED Central Committee and first secretary of the FDJ Central Council, delivered the closing speech. The principal address was given by Prof Dr Otto Reinhold, president of the Academy of Social Sciences associated with the SED Central Committee. There were five sections, in which 154 participants got a hearing. Significant results of our youth policy since the SED's Ninth Party Congress were analyzed, time-tested practices were generalized, and new requirements were discussed in terms of the transition to the 1980's and prior to the SED's Tenth Party Congress, as well as the Eleventh Parliament of the FDJ.

The 1980's--Decade of Revolutionary Testing

The conference was able to begin with good successes in connection with the realization of the party's policy on youth. Erich Honecker characterized this policy with the statements: "We have an army of young fighters

who are faithfully devoted to the ideals of the socialist revolution and the objectives of our party's program. Their attitude is marked by socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism."*

One of the certain findings and experiences goes as follows: The source of all the marked successes in the communist education of youth lies in the leadership of this process by the SED. It has always elaborated and effected its youth policy as an inseparable component of its total policy. We proceed from the assumption that the rising generation gives a good account of itself above all through the imparting and acquisition of the scientific ideology of the working class and through practical testing in accomplishing socially important tasks needed for the further shaping of the developed socialist society.

This observation, already substantiated by V. I. Lenin in his speech to the Third Komsomol Congress in 1920, has universal validity for socialist construction. But in every stage of the continuing socialist revolution, it must be thought through anew. There are always concrete-historical tasks which it is essential to accomplish. These invariably give rise to greater requirements and standards for the youth policy of the party and for the activity of the FDJ as the helper and fighting reserve of the party.

Otto Reinhold accounted for these new tasks in terms of putting into practice the resolutions of the Eleventh Plenum of the SED Central Committee. The new domestic-policy conditions for the social development of the GDR in the 1980's, the sharpening of the class struggle between socialism and imperialism which we are presently experiencing, and our foreign-trade burdens are placing greater demands on the entire society, and especially on the communist education of the youth. In view of these new conditions, such an education must focus "more and more intensively on the all-round personality development of the young builder of the developed socialist society." Such a young builder will be one "who, educated in the spirit of the ideology of Marxism-Leninism and behaving as a socialist patriot and proletarian internationalist, takes part actively and creatively in the struggles of our times and participates in the construction of socialism."

Another well-tested experience became clear: Whenever party, governmental, industrial, and youth functionaries come together for the first time with philosophers, economists, historians, sociologists, military scientists, educationalists, psychologists, moral philosophers, and youth researchers to investigate on such a broad basis the role of youth in the further shaping of the developed socialist society, in the first place that is a

*From the Report of the Politburo to the Eleventh Conference of the SED Central Committee, by reporting member Comrade E. Honecker; Dietz Publishing House, Berlin, 1979, p 61.

good basis for the success of a conference. Secondly, science is influencing more and more directly the communist education of our youth. But above all, that is an expression of the fact that youth questions are not the affair of only a few specialists, but the affair of all communists, of all political forces, of the entire socialist society under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party. To prepare the young people soundly for their responsibility in the present and future means to apply this experience again and again in all our considerations. This is true both for the political work of the functionary and for the theoretical work of the scientist.

Persuasively Impart Marxism-Leninism

The present young generation will make its own revolutionary contribution to the realization of social progress. As Egon Krenz emphasized, in this connection what needs to be done is "not the mere repetition of past accomplishments, but rather to push forward into new areas of our social development and to consciously utilize and help to further develop the historical advantages of our system." With the help of the young people, our great capabilities and opportunities should be utilized in such a way that we can measure up to the speed of development of science and technology, of the introduction of new products, methods, functional principles, and technologies, and the alterations in economic structures on a world-wide scale. That is a great and bold challenge to the knowledge and creativity of our young people. They can and will meet this challenge, because they "possess an extraordinary 'drive' to achieve social progress whenever they ally themselves with the Marxist-Leninist party and are armed with the most advanced knowledge," as Paul Verner remarked. This means that we should impart to our youth extensive vocational skills and accomplishments, and it means above all that we should teach them how Marxism-Leninism is applied as a revolutionary and militant science in daily life.

Political-Ideological Work With Greater Ideological Content

The new domestic and foreign-policy conditions for the continuation of the socialist revolution in the GDR and the results achieved in the development of greater awareness by young people lead to the conclusion that we should pay more attention to the ideological content of the FDJ's mass-political work. By delving deeper into the laws of the development of nature, of human thought, and of society, the young people are enabled to evaluate the revolutionary changes in the world in terms of the class struggle and to actively take sides. This affects the dialectic of the revolutionary world processes, the changes in the international relationship of forces, and the continuation of the historic offensive by the forces of socialism, peace, democracy, and social progress.

Some of the things taking on an added significance for the deepening of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism in thought and

action by young people are: More extensive education in the theory of the formation of communist societies, with their two phases; the correct understanding of the developed socialist society as a relatively long period of fundamental revolutionary changes; and the clear communicating of the growth and evolution and of the historical achievements of our socialist fatherland, not least in the area of youth policy.

This education would include knowledge about the development and consolidation of our friendship with the Soviet Union and its fraternal aid to help our nation prosper, equally with more knowledge about the emergence of the socialist community of states and the social development, culture, life, and manners and customs of the peoples in those socialist countries united with us. It is more urgent than ever in Marxist-Leninist educational and training work among the youth that the unity of socialism and peace is explained over and over again. This unity expresses itself in the "Decree on Peace" composed by V. I. Lenin, in the Berlin peace proposals of L. I. Brezhnev, and in the entire policy of the Soviet Union, the strongest peace-loving power in the world. The GDR, situated at the boundary between socialism and imperialism, is making a great contribution to the consolidation of peace and to the materialization of the policy of peaceful coexistence. This contribution is understood all the better--according to what was established at the conference--the more clearly the endeavors inimical to peace of imperialism, especially of the NATO forces, are unmasked in the mass political work. In this way we are helping even more to explain the nature of imperialism, especially the role of monopolies and military-industrial complexes and their objective urge toward reaction domestically and aggression abroad.

The readiness of the young people to strengthen and defend the GDR on all sides and thus to further materialize the policy of peaceful coexistence is increased by the convincing exposure of the crimes and defects of capitalism. More exhaustive deliberations are necessary for demonstrating the antiprogressive nature of imperialism generally, not only in the spheres of politics and the economy, but also--for example--in social relations, in intellectual life, and so forth. This succeeds best if our ideology, our ideals, and our morals, and if the values, advantages, and achievements of socialism are the starting point and focus of the political-ideological work. Thus the truth about socialism is our most sharp-edged weapon. Party and youth functionaries from enterprises have confirmed that it is absolutely essential to the development of a readiness for achievement on the part of young people for them to have practical knowledge about the economic processes and laws of socialism, about its intensive expansion of reproduction, the utilization of qualitative factors of economic growth, and above all scientific-technical progress as the chief way to increase the productivity of labor.

Increase the Effectiveness of Ideological Work

In the discussion, much attention was given to experiences pertaining to

the style and methods of the ideological work and concerning how to increase its effectiveness. How is it possible to impart Marxism-Leninism to the young people in a way which is tangible and visible to everyone and in such a way that it becomes an indispensable compass for life, that the desire to constantly concern oneself anew with its fundamental teachings is awakened and developed? Although no final answers could be given as yet to these and other questions, it did prove possible to give many good suggestions.

A good impact is achieved wherever good quality is ensured in the propaganda activity. It was emphasized that ideological work appropriate to young people does not mean to trivialize the superior thought content of our theory, and that agitation and propaganda appropriate to the youth must take into account the various social and age groups, the different living and working conditions, the existing level of education, and the differentiated interests and inclinations of the young people. Such work is characterized by its great closeness to life, and it explains to the young people the theoretical findings in a convincing and clear way in their relation to the present political events and struggles. Conversely, it guides thinking about current processes towards the laws underlying them. The young people are strongly interested in political matters and they are highly educated. Therefore in the ideological work it cannot be a question of dishing up ready-made answers. Everywhere and always it must be borne in mind that the young women and men are able and want to think for themselves.

It is very important to impart Marxist-Leninist knowledge in conjunction with social experiences, with the events, problems, and demands of daily life in the working and learning collective, in the FDJ group, and in the circle of friends and recreational circle. When ideological knowledge and social experiences intermesh, this leads to a growing desire for and curiosity about studying more thoroughly the ideology of the working class, its ideals, and its morality. If such knowledge and experiences exist in the life of a young person as two different worlds, independent of one another, then the best of knowledge remains the mere possession of ideas, and the experiential significance of Marxism-Leninism fails to be felt.

Bear in Mind the Dialectic of the Rational and Emotional

But the imparting and acquiring of knowledge are not the only things essential to the consolidation of ideological convictions and the formation of an active position on life. The dialectic of the rational and emotional, of thinking and feeling, should be taken into account in a more deliberate way in the mass political work. The better we do that, the greater are the results. Knowledge does not lead automatically to corresponding action. This is proved by practical experiences and scientific investigations. What triggers action are the emotional processes (coupled with knowledge). From this we draw the conclusion concerning our ideological work and concerning our entire political education and training activity

that we must give more weight to the education of the feelings. The Marxist-Leninist body of thought must be submitted to the young people in such a way that they experience it as useful for their own daily life, for the family, the collective, and the society, and in such a way that they take their bearings from it.

Educating the feelings aims at the development of diverse and deep value relations within the personality. The conclusion to be drawn for mass political work among the young is: Full utilization of all possibilities for introducing Marxism-Leninism to the minds and hearts of the young people. Is that in contradiction to the saying of Engels, to the effect that as soon as it has become a science, Marxism must also be practiced as such? By no means--without personal study, without personal effort, even today no young person can make our ideology his own. Influence should be exerted continually in this direction, especially in the FDJ study year, by all administrators. But it is equally true that: To make clear the value of our ideology as an orientation for life, to impress firm political convictions and an active position on life, also includes the providing of multifarious experiences. Experiences which speak equally to the understanding and the heart. As we learned from the events at the National Youth Festival, such experiences leave deep traces in the awareness of the youth. The range of forms of mass political-ideological work begins with the FDJ study year, the members' meetings, and personal talks, and it must extend past attractive events organized in the basic organizations to include all questions affecting the work, learning, and life of young people, and as far as the broader utilization of the capacities of culture and art, the mass media, the FDJ youth clubs, youth tourism, sports, and the encouragement of personal hobbies. All these opportunities, which are often missed still, for the formation of appropriately class-conscious attitudes must be more fully utilized.

It was stressed--and social scientists and functionaries have to ponder over this even more thoroughly--how the imparting of the Marxist-Leninist ideology and the ideals of the working class can be linked even more closely with the decisions and trials which face the young people. For example, every young person confronts the choice of either an occupation or a field of study. In the socialist society, the option also exists at the age of 14 years of participating in other social and mass organizations in addition to the FDJ. The young people enter into their honorary service in the armed forces, and so forth. There are decisions and trials which demand an ever greater degree of independence and political clarity. Consequently, here there are important starting points for the political-ideological work, because in the last analysis it is always essential that such decisions are made or the test is passed in the interests of both the concerned young person and the society.

[Text] "Work," emphasized Prof Otto Reinhold in his address to the conference, "is that sphere of life in which the young working person applies his intellectual and physical capabilities which were developed in the school, in vocational training, and on the university level, where he further perfects his practical knowledge and his mastery of his vocation, his strength of mind, his sense of responsibility, and other personality traits which are important for his development. Here, the young working person learns to comprehend the meaning of his life as an active and creative participation in the shaping of the socialist society and as a testing field for his own personality development. For him it becomes personally important that the quantity and quality of his own work are of decisive significance for the realization of objectives of society as a whole and together with that also for the satisfaction of his own wants."

For all FDJ leaders, regardless of what sector they are active in, this means they should always couple the imparting and acquisition of the scientific ideology with the incorporation of all members and young people into the work of solving practical tasks in connection with the further shaping of the developed socialist society in our country.

"Through the participation of all young people in the economic initiatives of the FDJ," stressed Erich Honecker in his letter to the FDJ, "you can tap a substantial reserve for achieving the necessary increase in output in the 1980's" (see JUNGE GENERATION, 2/80).

What New Requirements Apply to the Work Attitude?

This increase in output requires a higher sense of responsibility and a greater readiness to achieve on the part of all working people. Thus, increasingly more importance is being given to the further growth in awareness and the activity and state of organization of the working youth and its creative work--in short, its socialist attitude toward labor. FDJ functionaries who took part in the conference discussion were completely in agreement with representatives of science that the present and future development of the productive forces and relations of our society presupposes more imperatively than ever that we have personalities with an all-round development and education.

The "rationalization drive," which will be helping to ensure a rapid increase in output for our national economy, will be characterized by the further mechanization and automation of sectors of production, of sections of production preparation, of production planning and management, and of administrative activity, on the basis of information-processing technology and the selective employment of microelectronics in connection with robot technology. New demands on work attitudes are arising from this process.

Today, a constant striving for superior quantitative and qualitative labor

performances, for effective and creative work, for collective action and teamwork, for improving one's education and skills, for developing an ability to make oneself useful, and to change from one job to another, are the expression of an aware attitude to work.

A careful approach to materials, working time, and social property, perseverance, discipline, dependability, purposefulness, the courage to take risks, self-awareness, moderateness, and a sense of responsibility to the entire society are attributes whose formation and consolidation in all young working people are what the FDJ directs its political and organizational activity towards. Under the leadership of our party and by way of our public and vocational education, through the technical and advanced school system, and through the enterprises and production co-operatives and the activity of the FDJ as well as other social organizations and institutions, a great job has been done in training and educating able-bodied and efficient young technicians and members of the intelligentsia.

But the demands of the 1980's require still more concentrated efforts, if we are to purposively employ and expand these great capabilities. In comparison to the 1970's, in the coming decade almost 700,000 fewer young people will grow up to fall within the ages between 14 and 25 years, for demographic reasons. This will have effects on our society's productive capacity. It is an important social mission that all the young people attain the training, educational, and work objectives set for them.

At the present time, the number of unworked shifts young people are responsible for, and their share of working-time losses due to sickness, of non-fulfillment of work norms, and of industrial accidents is still too high. Besides other causes, problems of ~~work~~ attitude and morale can also be seen here--problems which it is essential to counter through the work of all the social forces, and especially of the FDJ, and through exemplary influences in the collectives.

We also must keep in mind always that the realm in which we do all this is not free of class conflict. The ideologists of imperialism from the FRG do everything in their power to spitefully defame the development of the readiness to achieve of the GDR youth and to slander the activity of its youth association in the economic area. Besides gross defamations of the results and the nature of, for example, the economic initiatives of the FDJ, they are also seeking to focus their ideological attacks more on the ideological questions of the youth's attitude to work. In reference to our theme, this kind of attack sounds thusly: "Work-free income for everyone--that is the objective which capitalism has." "In five generations at most, capitalism has done away with work."

Well, yes, in the FRG that has indeed been achieved already--for example, for hundreds of thousands of unemployed young people. But is this also their objective? Do they really want to be relieved of their most basic

human right, the right to work?

We in any case, do not want to envisage any future without work. And although for us this question does not arise, nevertheless we should not simply ignore these attempts by the enemy, but rather pay heed to them in our political-ideological work.

Work Attitude--Is That Not Also Enthusiasm, Vigor, Expertise?

A socialist attitude toward work--it was brought out at the conference--is characterized by an active conduct, by an aware commitment to the collective and the society. It requires expertise, enthusiasm, and the conviction that a greater standard of living presupposes greater achievements and productivity.

Such an awareness does not arise in a spontaneous movement. Consequently, even under our social relations a socialist working attitude does not develop automatically. Just as it is generally true that practical activities and collective living do not lead spontaneously to the formation of firm ideological and moral convictions, but rather furnish manifold opportunities for forming socialist convictions and giving them a chance to become enduring. But they must be supplemented thereupon by an exacting ideological-educational activity.

Helmut Richter reported that in 1979, a youth collective with the experimental plant of the Bitterfeld Chemical Combine, VEB, undertook an MMM [Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow] assignment, which had its origins in the governmental agreement between the USSR and the GDR. The aim was to develop a modern method for preparing an important intermediate product for the production of coloring agents. From the start, this method was supposed to exhibit the highest of world technological standards. Its successful elaboration and transfer to production promised a savings of 20,000 valuta marks. "First of all," commented Helmut, "it was essential to explain in detail to the participating young workers, technicians, and engineers the why of this assignment." In the FDJ study year, purposive discussions were held on the connection between the further strengthening of socialism and the concrete action of each individual. The new foreign-trade conditions, the intensification of the international class struggle between socialism and imperialism, and the necessity to fortify our socialist fatherland for the purpose of securing peace, were not debated in general terms but in connection with their political-economic objective. In many personal talks, the discussion resulted time and again in the pledge to save 40,000 valuta marks. In the initial members' assemblies, the how of the project's realization was discussed. Reservations emerged concerning the functioning of the teamwork, along the lines of: "Just what can we say to the engineers?" "Are our skills sufficient to accomplish this task?" That was what young workers asked themselves. "Cannot we more effectively utilize the time which we are taking to introduce our workers to the subject matter of this task?" said young engineers.

On the other hand, this exchange of views had been prepared for by talks. Nevertheless, not all the problems could be cleared up. The FDJ leadership and the government leaders gave continued support to this work in personal talks with participants. Thus, the most favorable converting to production of the new method was secured.

There were discussions on a regular basis in the FDJ members' meetings concerning the status of the work. Meetings of party secretaries, meetings of leaders, youth forums on particular themes, and other methods of purposive political-ideological work constantly provided anew for the motivation of the members of this youth collective, imparted information to them about world technological standards in their sector, and so forth.

In this way, the collective in question succeeded in shaping the entire FDJ activity in a more substantial manner, from the study year down to common leisure-time experiences. But elsewhere, how often does the struggle for the highest level of excellence, for saving every gram of material, remain mere slogans, because practical tasks and purposive political-ideological activity still do not form a unity?

Caution Signs--Especially at Turning Points in Our Life?

We must also utilize this correlation still better in our practical work, in order to better overcome the familiar problems at the turning points in the life of young people. We still often observe that FDJ members who have an active political attitude following completion of vocational training or university studies become stationary or even inactive in their development upon their entry into working life. Certainly there are many reasons for this. But a frequently found reason is the fact that despite their good preparation in school and despite the close connection of vocational training, study, and practice, they are faced with completely different problems in their working life. Hitherto, their convictions developed primarily by way of "theory." In a sense, before their entry into working life they lived in collectives in which they were guided and had a relatively dependent status so far as making autonomous decisions is concerned.

But now they are confronted with frequently unfamiliar requirements, phenomena, and contradictions. It is difficult for them to work these problems out by themselves, because of course their existing knowledge, experiences, and even convictions are not adequate to this task. If they are not helped to cope with the new situation, by our giving conscious consideration to these new questions, problems, and contradictions in the political-ideological work, there can develop a stagnation or retrogression in their political-ideological development. It is precisely for this reason that wisely managed FDJ basic organizations devote great attention to such time-tested methods as the "worker initiation" process, the use of experienced technicians as sponsors, the organizing of special events for young technicians, and so forth.

In this connection, the question was raised at the conference discussion of whether or not we work too little with habits. A debate developed at this point concerning, among other things, the relationship between indoctrination work and administration in educating the youth to have a socialist attitude toward work, especially the right attitude toward discipline, order, and safety. As for the activity of the FDJ, the conclusion can be deduced that work discipline is not only the result of a successful job of propaganda and agitation, but also the result of the concrete working and living process, of habit, of behaving in practical life towards people, things, or in situations in accordance with certain given norms and rules. It is essential to develop and adhere to regular relations everywhere in the work collectives and FDJ groups.

Performance Principle--Does the FDJ Understand by This More Than Merited Payment?

Of the multitude of questions discussed, a second set of problems can be characterized by the words of Helmut Richter: "The performance principle ought to be implemented at all levels in a more distinct way." This principle aims at high achievements and promotes the correct working attitude; violations of this principle often degenerate into a decreased readiness to achieve and a deficient working attitude.

If we understand by this much more than just pay according to results, then every FDJ group and every basic organization has many ways to exert an influence. For example, everywhere a climate should be developed which encourages the highest performances, and indeed virtually insists on them. Does the FDJ group stand up for the correct material and moral encouragement of good performances? Are performances which remain below the requirements penalized with corresponding sanctions? We are still encountering in practice both formalism in material and immaterial recognition of achievements and equally an inappropriate tolerant attitude toward mediocrity. By cooperation with government leaders and trade-union functionaries, the representation of interests in this area can be done in a more capable way.

This has a direct connection also with a third nexus of problems found in the discussion--the perfection of socialist democracy and the growth of social cooperation in the production process.

As practice shows, scientific-technical progress in socialism receives its vital impulses even today, and will do so even more in the coming years, through the conscious, committed participation of the working people. Therefore, the objective and subjective conditions for the formation of youth brigades and projects should be analyzed even more thoroughly, it was suggested at the conference. This will help to cut down on the often unwarranted disagreements on the formation and activity of youth collectives in the combines and between the combines, industrial branches and bezirks--disagreements which clearly have ideological causes. It was recognized at the conference that there are a number of objective

processes in certain sections of production and certain enterprises which make it difficult to set up youth brigades. But not a few government leaders and industrial functionaries plead so-called "technological reasons" "too high of a risk," as well as ostensibly "not enough experience on the part of the young workers, engineers, and leaders." A number of FDJ managements acquiesce in such arguments far too readily. But what is possible under the leadership of the party organization through joint work of the FDJ management, government leaders, and the BGL (plant labor union executive board), by taking issue in a patient and thorough-going manner with these arguments, was shown by the FDJ secretary of the "Karl Liebknecht" Heavy Machine-building Enterprise, VEB, of Magdeburg. In this enterprise, the number of youth brigades was increased from 11 to 42 within just 1 year.

Science and Technology--Where Are the Reserves of the FDJ?

It was emphasized that the youth brigades in particular have demonstrated their capabilities for the creative actuation of young workers, through their extensive incorporation into the competition for the fulfillment of quotas and into the process of rapid implementation of scientific-technical progress.

"This objective," said Comrade Egon Krenz in his closing address, "will concern us over a relatively long period, and it goes without saying that our country's youth organization can and will gain a great increase in strength if we can succeed even better in explaining the significance for social policy of the mastering of science and technology, and if we succeed in organizing more resolutely the struggle to this end within all age groups."

Deliberations and measures are necessary to completely utilize above all the time-tested methods and structures of the FDJ, such as the youth-innovator and MMM movement.

To that end, first it is necessary to intensify scientific-technical propaganda and information for the young people concerning their practical opportunities in connection with the materialization of scientific-technical progress. Egon Krenz suggested the holding of "days of science and technology" in the FDJ basic organizations in large enterprises. The FDJ managements will quite certainly find many comrades-in-arms in the URANIA, the Chamber of Technology, the clubs of the intelligentsia, in government managements, and in other social organizations and institutions.

Secondly, it became clear that the educational and training level of the youth must be brought into play still more systematically in the interests of scientific-technical progress. Today, over 80 percent of the working youth have a 10-year polytechnic secondary school education, and this figure comes to 85 percent for the age-group of young technicians which entered into working life in 1979. More than 80 percent of

the young working people have completed advanced, technical, or vocational training. These are significant intellectual capabilities for an active participation in the youth-innovator movement and the MDM.

But here as well, light and shade lie close together. In the sector of the Ministry for Coal and Energy, for example, 60 percent of the young working people are participating in the innovator movement, but in the sector of construction the figure is only 36 percent.

In our times, acquired know-how and skills are subject to more rapid obsolescence than formerly. In some areas of science and technology, knowledge is doubling within a few years. Constant learning is becoming an important feature of the socialist working attitude. Under these conditions, we cannot and must not allow the currently still considerable percentage of young working people who do not have the requisite training for their work to lag behind. At present, about 100,000 young workers (15.9 percent) with completed technical training are working in alien occupations. Today, about 180,000 young workers (19.2 percent) still have no or only a partial vocational training. The struggle of the FDJ collectives for superior learning and study achievements in the secondary schools, training facilities, and advanced schools not only lies in the interests of our society but serves at the same time the development of the personality itself. This applies likewise to the further qualification of those young people who have only a partial training or are working in occupations for which they have not been prepared.

Thirdly, it is essential that all "government leaders and industrial functionaries should bear a great responsibility for the creation of an atmosphere in their field of activity which is conducive to the flourishing of bold ideas and creative work by the young people in the contest for record achievements," as Otto Reinhold commented.

This requires also taking issue with appearances of formalism and bureaucracy. Unwarrantedly long processing times for innovator proposals, delayed in-house or inter-enterprise utilization of results, and an only formal incorporation of the young worker into the teamwork and collective innovator work, all foster passivity and dissatisfaction and undermine the person's working attitude, and in addition these things lead to considerable economic losses.

The proverbial vigor and the uncompromising attitude of the young people should be brought to bear to an even much greater degree for the systematic improvement of working conditions and the job contents, but also for the fight against deficient organization and order, for a full utilization of modern technology, and for the shortening of the planning, development, and transition periods of new facilities, methods, and principles.

For years, the policy of our party has been directed toward the improvement of working conditions and the enrichment of job contents by the

addition of greater intellectual requirements. From 1973 to 1979 alone, 1.2 million jobs were altered with the aid of a scientific organizing of work. Heavy physical labor detrimental to health has been reduced, and the interesting, creative aspect of work has been increased.

The readiness of young workers, technicians, engineers, and scientists to actively participate in this process is growing. Scientific investigations prove: With the introduction of a new technique, the more directly they sense an improvement in their working conditions, the more they directly experience a decrease in heavy physical and unhealthy work, the more diverse and interesting the work becomes for them, and the more their extensive education and training is called for in the specific job, all the more are they ready to use their energy consciously and creatively for the economic strengthening of our fatherland. With correct answers to these questions of our development which were dealt with by the conference, we will have enriched our life considerably by the time of the Tenth Party Congress of the SED.

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CONSIDERATION OF OTHER VIEWPOINTS SHOULD NOT LEAD TO SILENCE

Budapest UJ EMBER in Hungarian 6 Jul 80 p 1

[Article by Gyorgy Giczy: "Sincerity"]

[Text] More and more I have to recognize that there are other points of view as well.

The world is not measurable in just one way, neither is man, and life is the realization of various kinds of possibilities.

I can and must believe in the sincerity of others' search for truth, even when they arrive at conclusions opposite to my own--but I do not have to accept every statement. Because, for one thing, the standpoints contradict one another.

Intellectual struggles are unavoidable. For varying convictions threaten each other by their very existence, even when they do not actually get involved in a dispute. But if some principle is not sanctioned, the opposite opinion usually gets emphasized openly. Not simply because people like to criticize, but because of the economy of reality. In this world there is no room for infallible oracles, and chest-pounding pretentiousness inevitably becomes ridiculous. Those who create theoretical systems always have good reason to be afraid.

However, one cannot refuse to take a stand by complaining that it is no use participating in a struggle which is being conducted without hope of reaching a common agreement. Because, for one thing, complete identity of viewpoints is not an inspiring goal, but a frightening utopia. Frightening, because until now it has been possible, through intellectual laziness or the force of power, to keep up the appearance [of unanimity] for a while, and every time it has become clear that this is not a situation worthy of man. From this it already appears that it is not lack of backbone when someone sees his mistake and "repents," but when he keeps quiet even though he knows....

The tragic part of intellectual struggles comes about, however, because we must decide, speak, and act without a perfect knowledge of reality. For

this reason, we will always have within us some uncertainty. But this brings with it the possibility of taking others seriously and risking our own self-importance. One who never has supposed that he might make a mistake does not know anything.

Thus uncertainty can be a relative of humility: it never makes a pronouncement that cannot be appealed when it is only possible to suppose. It provides a critic for our own convictions, the intellectual freshness that "keeps pace" with growing reality--and at the same time it is constantly wrestling with us. This struggle can actually help us to victory: it gives us the gift of the grand moment of one perception or another.

A serious problem can only arise when people caution us to be quiet and inactive, emphasizing the principle of "we must beware of one another." They do not say we are wrong, but they refer to the authority of those who represent the principles already decided on. But reality is sensitive, and man can in no way permit himself to become an accomplice to rigidity. Because, for one thing, concealed realities always "give themselves away...."

9611

CSO: 2500

LIMITED PRESS FOR CATHOLIC PROGRAM

Budapest UJ EMBER in Hungarian 6 Jul 80 p 2

[Text] "I was unable to listen to the Catholic half-hour on the radio," complains one subscriber, because on the previous Friday the only newspaper I received was MAGYAR HIRLAP. I found that it was in vain to look at it, because it began with an explanation: the times of the religious half-hours will be given in the radio program listings by the MAGYAR NEMZET and the NEPSZAVA, but not by the NEPSZABADSAG and the MAGYAR HIRLAP.

By way of proof, he took the MAGYAR HIRLAP of 13 June. There the radio program for the next Sunday (22 June) on the Petofi network begins: "7:30: organ music." I looked at the other daily papers also: According to the listing in the NEPSZABADSAG the program of the Petofi network on 22 June begins with: "8:05: What do we hear?" According to the MAGYAR NEMZET and the NEPSZAVA, the program of the Petofi network on the morning of the same day begins with: "7:00: The Roman Catholic Church half-hour."

Every daily paper gives the radio schedule for the following week on the preceding Friday; clearly each of them has access to the complete program.

We do not know what has caused this abbreviation of the program listing by the MAGYAR HIRLAP and the NEPSZABADSAG. Certainly not the interest of the readers.

9611

CSO: 2500

CATHOLIC SCHOOLS NEED DONATIONS, OVERT OR ANONYMOUS

Budapest UJ EMBER in Hungarian 6 Jul 80 p 2

[Article: "Responsibility and Generosity"]

[Text] It has already been half a year since the Hungarian Council of Bishops approached Catholic believers with a circular letter requesting support for the maintenance of Catholic schools. In addition to Sunday collections, innumerable believers, parish boards, and old-folks homes made contributions to one of the high schools. Most of them wrote a few words on the back of their check, and from these short messages and expressions of good will one can read both anxious love and a feeling of responsibility toward the work of Catholic institutions.

It is possible to give in many ways. But the act of giving is most effective and uplifting when love and the transparent simplicity of self-sacrifice can be felt behind it. From the little messages written on the backs of pink checks one can sketch lives and fates. The images of disappointed and lonely people can be perceived behind them, as well as those of successful people with respectable existences, who thank those who helped them get started and their Catholic upbringing for their present success and social recognition. The "old students" sent in their contributions just as did the lonely, modest, retired widows: because both regard the fate of Catholic schools as a matter close to their hearts.

There are those who take advantage of the joy of anonymous giving by hiding behind the mask of namelessness. Many wrote a "fictitious" address on the back of the check, so on the envelope of their thank-you letters "addressee unknown" is stamped. And there are those who recall their own early memories, the beautiful, noble, maturing years of their lives, in one or two terse lines, in which the sunny enchantment of early youth glimmers. One old student from Szeged "of the [Protestant] reformed religion" sent his thousand forints that way. Tragedies can be detected behind some laconic statements: "I am sending [this] in the name of my husband, who died at Christmas time, and who once was your student;" "I am sending the enclosed sum with love in memory of my younger brother;" "The gift of a sick woman. She asks that you pray for her."

Old and young alike were moved to action by the request, and in addition to the church collections they sent in their forints that had been collected with great difficulty. Gifts for our Catholic schools came in and are coming in from every part of the country. The names of famous artists and writers can be found in the list of supporters, just as well as those of residents of our homes for the elderly, who express with their scratchy but powerful letters the wish that their own fulfilled dreams might be realized in the lives of today's students.

The sister in charge of one of the homes for the elderly wrote the following lines: "We know that this sum, in comparison with the needs of the school, is just a widow's mite. Nevertheless, we hope that you will receive it with as much love as the love with which we collected it." And we can only suggest a minute portion of the kind of love and cooperation that was shown in response to the circular from the bishops' council. One parish priest told the sisters that the congregation had started a separate collection in his village, and he thought that was natural because seven (!) of the youth of that community of 2,000 people were studying in various Catholic schools. And [here is] an extract from another letter that makes one think: "...I have read about your needs. It is interesting that I was impressed by the line about repairing the dilapidated chairs. Today, when hundreds and hundreds of 3-to-5-year-old chairs are being replaced, the director of a Catholic high school is worried about saving the dilapidated chairs...." And then the priest promises that he, together with his congregation, will give 12 chairs for the library reading room.

In this letter a very deep truth is expressed. It is obviously true that there are many whose living standards have increased rapidly during recent decades. They have remained insensitive to and unaware of the difficulties of our Catholic schools, not because of indifference, but because they were not sufficiently informed about them. But now how many have been moved! As if the believers realized that here we are not talking about an "internal matter." Our bishops' council is counting on the generosity and responsible participation of all of us. They have symbolically placed in our hands the future fate and hopes for development of our schools. The checks, the lines written about prayers and gifts, and the long letters convince us that worldly parishioners are recognizing their responsibility, and each in his own way, according to his material means and ability, is trying to live up to it.

An older man knocked at the door of one superintendent and handed over a contribution for maintenance from his fellow priests, quite a significant amount. They were all retired! The superintendent was moved and asked whether they would not miss the money, which had obviously been gathered a few fillers at a time, to which the "messenger," who did not want to reveal his name, replied: "What we need is not to have new clothes and shoes, but to know that we have been able to help the church resolve its difficulties. This awareness was probably at work in everyone who gave, and perhaps for this reason it was possible for the fate of the Catholic schools to become a deeply-felt concern of Catholic society."

Our schools are struggling with many difficulties and worries. It would not be true to fact to state that they have all been resolved through the collections and donations. Yet every forint and every gesture of support has an immeasurable significance, because the men and women who teach here --who "by the way" are the founders of future Catholic society--can note with a pleasant feeling that more and more people are watching them and trying to help them with love and warm sympathy, and with a mature gesture of responsibility.

9611

CSO: 2500

DISSIDENT DOCUMENT ON SURVEY OF POLITICAL-ECONOMIC SITUATION EXAMINED

London DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 19 Jul 80 p 1

[Article by Aleksandra Stypulkowska]

[Text] Copies of a document entitled "A Report on the State of the Republic and on Ways to Make it Better" turned up in Poland in May 1979 and soon thereafter in the West as well. This report was prepared by the editorial committee of the conservatorium [discussion club] "Dowsiadczeniei przyslosc" [Experience and the Future]. The report was based on the results of a public opinion survey whose respondents included 50 representatives of various academic disciplines, artists, journalists, public officials, party members and non-party members, believers and non-believers. This group of people had held one meeting, in the wake of which the government imposed a ban on any future meetings of this type. Consequently, it was decided that public opinion surveys would be used as a forum for an exchange of views on the current crisis in Poland. The Polish language press in the West and the foreign press have already published articles about this "Report." This report created such a stir due to the fact that its diagnosis, which corroborates the views of others on the sociopolitical foundations of the current crisis in the PRL, came from people who have nothing to do with the dissident movement. Moreover, some of the survey respondents are also members of the PZPR. In addition to diagnoses of the problems facing the nation, the "Report," referred to colloquially as the DiP, after the abbreviation of the organizational title "Doswiadczenie i Przyslosc," also contained some commentary on ways to resolve this crisis.

The members of the conservatorium, apparently acknowledging that the debate on these problems is not yet finished, that the circle of respondents to these kinds of surveys needs to be broadened, and that the situation in Poland, which grows worse with each passing month, poses the threat of being transformed into a national tragedy, have drawn up a new survey. The results of this survey are contained in a 75-page document entitled "How to Get Out of This?" This document, dated May 1980, bears the imprimatur of DiP. This time 141 persons responded to this survey, including university professors,

artists, journalists and prominent professional people, including 51 members of the PZPR and several members of the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party.

Anyone who went to the trouble to make a thorough study of last year's laboriously and poorly copied DiP report may find that he has made a career for himself. The new document does not have much of anything new to add in the way of proposals for a solution to the crisis. The basic diagnosis is the same and generally correct, and the de lege ferenda proposals [i.e., proposals for institutional reforms] are just a little bit more wide-ranging, especially so in that section of the report dealing with economic issues. But the value of this collection of opinions consists in the fact that the number of respondents to this survey was much larger and that a greater degree of consensus was achieved.

A consensus on what? On what most of all? On the fact that it is essential to tell the whole truth about the current situation in Poland, that it is necessary--as one of the respondents wrote--to face our "moment of truth."

The consensus on this basic issue and on a number of others as well is interesting considering the political and philosophical diversity of the survey respondents. As I mentioned before, more than one out of every three respondents was a party member. However, this circumstance turns out to be less sensational when we take into account the fact that Mieczyslaw Rakowski, a member of the Central Committee, in an article published in the weekly party organ POLITYKA (issue dated 5 July 1980), while obviously trying to engage in metaphorical political criticism in the form of some rambling comments on the "I-don't-give-a-damn" attitudes of the general public, quite openly called for, instead of half measures, a clearcut plan for institutional reforms that would rectify the mistakes that have been made in the area of economic policy. Rumor has it that Rakowski maintains close contacts with the DiP group. As we can see, something new is happening. On the one hand, the regime leadership, mindful of the disaster which could befall it, is all of a sudden starting to engage in mild forms of public self-criticism, assuming that this will disarm public opinion. On the other hand, some party members, mainly members of the intelligentsia, faced with the growing threat of catastrophe, are defying the rules of party discipline and calling for institutional reforms while making critical comments about the methods used to run the government and about the current economic chaos.

But let's get back to discussing the results of the survey summarized in the second publication of DiP entitled "How to Get Out of This?", bearing in mind that this document is not the work of members of the democratic opposition movement. The editors who compiled the results of this survey stress that in many of the statements made by the respondents a distinction is made between the system of government and the political system. Even a major overhauling of the political system would not jeopardize, but on the contrary--in their opinion--would strengthen the existing system of government. Among

the flaws of the political system they mention, *inter alia*, the omnipotence of the central offices of the party apparatus, censorship, and the emptiness, hypocrisy and ritualism of public life.

One could pose the following question to those survey respondents who express this opinion: is there or has there ever been a communist state without an omnipotent party, without censorship and without the ritualized ceremonies used to cover up a meaningless void? Are these things not inherent evils of such a system of government? And is it possible to draw a distinction between the system of government and the political system in a state where a communist party holds power?

The respondents certainly agree that the crisis which now threatens Poland has deep-seated sociopolitical causes. This crisis is supposed to be averted by resorting to "negotiations" and "partnerlike cooperation between the people and the government." The respondents persist in the belief that this kind of cooperation, though not very likely at the present point in time, will sooner or later become unavoidable.

And so the following idea comes to mind once again. Negotiations can, as experience has shown, have a temporary and localized calming effect on the public mood. But they will not resolve the crisis. To put any stock in the rules of partner-like cooperation is unrealistic in a situation where the government does not have and is unable to win any prestige. It would seem that after the third time around the public is not going to give the government the benefit of the doubt, such as it did in 1956 and 1970, but not in 1976. The public's willingness to strike a compromise--there is also talk of a compromise in the responses to the survey questions--is just about exhausted, notwithstanding the public's political levelheadedness. Anyway, this will depend on what kinds of concessions the government will make.

Let us take a look at what the DIP book regards as the key elements of the kind of reform that would make it possible to break out of this impasse. And, so, first of all, the government must win for itself a minimum amount of credibility by "giving the public answers to questions about the real state of the nation and its economy, about how all of this came about, and about who bears the burden of responsibility for this situation and to what degree." On this score, among others, some of the persons surveyed mention the burden placed on society by military spending, pointing out that Poland ranks eighth in the world in terms of the size of its military budget. Other respondents insist that it is necessary to "make improvements in the workings of our system of alliances," especially our alliance with the USSR, to prove to the people that all fundamental decisions affecting the national welfare are made in Poland, and to repudiate obsequiousness, servility and "the falsification of history, not only the history of recent years, but also the history of the 19th century and the more remote past as well." There is nothing in our national history that needs to be touched up or depreciated. But, to stick to the question of drawing distinctions between the political system and the system of government, is it possible to realistically contemplate making all of these changes solely within the context of changing

the "system?" Is this possible in the absence of a radical change in the international balance of power?

The demand calling for the establishment of some kind of control over the powers of the censors and for giving people the right to appeal the rulings of the censors would appear to be somewhat more realistic, especially so in view of the pressure of public opinion. Some of the other demands that were made call for granting full equal rights to the working class, curbing the influence of the so-called "nomenklatura," i.e., the practice whereby jobs are filled according to party affiliation and not according to professional expertise, meeting all of the demands made by the Church and the adoption of the principle whereby the government will remain neutral on questions of personal philosophical beliefs, sweeping reforms of the justice system, which is in a state of profound crisis, the establishment of an independent judiciary and the recognition of the principle that everyone is equal before the law, the exercise of controls over law enforcement organs (the Civil Militia and the State Security forces) by a special commission of the Sejm, the proclamation of an unambiguous and consistent agricultural policy free of doctrinal prejudices, and the abolition of the privileges enjoyed by the civil service. Is there anyone who would not subscribe to these demands?

It is fitting that the demand calling for internal party reforms ought to be discussed as a separate issue. Most of those who spoke out on this issue are members of the PZPR, although non-party members also asserted that the general public cannot remain indifferent to this issue. The demands that were made on this score included: the democratization of internal party life by opening it up to public scrutiny and through the replacement of the official party apparatus with elective, broadly-based organs. Other respondents dreamed about permitting the adoption of alternative party platforms and imposing time limits on the terms of office of high-ranking party officers, about changing the way in which the principle of the leading role of the party is carried out in practice, and about how the party should be transformed into an "accountable steward" of public affairs. Merely idle dreams or a first step toward making these dreams come true?

The demands contained in this summary of the survey's findings dealing with the role of the Sejm, the nomination of candidates by the general public, elections to representative bodies, and the representation of Catholics in the Sejm are consistent with the aspirations of general public opinion. But in some of the responses reference is again made to the principle, already advanced in the 1979 DiP Report, which holds that under the existing conditions the party must retain a "controlling interest package," i.e., a majority of seats in all representative bodies. This would of course rule out free elections and genuine parliamentary control.

The general outlines of a proposed economic reform contained in this document are preceded by an assessment of the existing situation that calls attention to the fiasco of Gierek's "capital spending stratagem," the electric power shortage, the dwindling supply of goods on the market (a process which,

as everyone knows, is speeding up), the decline in agricultural production, the surplus of imports over exports, and the 18-20 billion dollar foreign debt. One of the persons surveyed wrote that, "if nothing changes we are going to be faced with a tragic situation, but even if things do change in this regard we are not going to have an easy time of it for a long time to come."

So, what should be done? The recommended reform program covers a wide range of issues, and in a single newspaper report I can only deal with some of these issues in a random fashion. The first step toward reform would supposedly consist in a declaration spelling out who, i.e., the premier or a team of officials constituting some kind of Economic Committee, is going to be personally responsible for running the economy. It is noted that it would be advisable for the person or persons charged with this responsibility to cooperate with an Economic Council, which would serve in an advisory and long-range planning capacity and be independent of the national governmental apparatus. This Council would draw up a draft version of an "economic constitution" designed to forestall constant policy shifts and to firmly delineate spheres of jurisdiction and authority in the management of the economy. The freedom to debate all economic issues, with the exception of economic questions of military importance, would be guaranteed. At this point it would be a good idea to point out that this exception means that in the end this debate will be an exercise in futility, since both the overt and covert military budgets are an integral part of the national budget. And banning debate on this problem would make it impossible to evaluate the performance of the economy as a whole. Another demand raised in the responses to this survey calls for the return to a planned economy, since the current practice of "patchwork planning" causes an enormous amount of waste. The uncontrolled chaos that prevails in the area of capital investment planning came in for scathing criticism. On the question of capital spending policy the respondents called for a reduction in the share of the national income allocated for capital investment purposes, the rechanneling of funds into modernization-oriented and rapid-rate-of-return investments, and increased spending in the energy and transportation industries, agriculture, the consumer goods industry, and the housing construction industry.

The most important element of any reform program--in the opinion of the survey respondents--would have to consist in measures designed to curb inflation. For the time being the only way to go about this would be to curtail the overambitious capital investment program, while, with a view to preventing further economic dislocations, it would be necessary to introduce realistic price controls (in the management of which an officially sanctioned Consumers Protection Movement would participate), to impose a temporary freeze on prices and wages, to raise the prices of some goods and services while taking into account the interests of the economically disadvantaged, to adjust the price relations of foodstuffs and manufactured goods, and, in the opinion of some of the survey respondents, to cut off "wage chimneys," to abolish special privileges, and to impose reasonable taxes on high incomes and luxury goods. There is nothing new about

any of these proposals. Official versions of the same proposals can also be found, but, of course, they exist only on paper.

The document "How to Get Out of This?" discussed agricultural policy in greater detail. I already mentioned that the survey respondents called for a public declaration of the theoretical premises of this policy. But the main point is that we need to dispel the myth that only large-scale farms can be modern and productive. There is no justification for this contention either in the West or in the communist countries. For example, in Hungary, which is often cited as a successful model of collectivized agriculture, a full 50 percent of all farmland consists of private garden plots. Among their other demands, the respondents also called for the transfer of agricultural procurement responsibilities to genuine cooperatives and peasant associations, the establishment of public review boards which would be capable of suspending unfair administrative decisions, the passage of legislation which would make it easier to buy land from the State Land Fund and to obtain loans for this purpose, the founding of cooperative agricultural institutions that are based exclusively on the needs of rural Poland, and the protection of the land as a preeminent national resource. The respondents advocate the passage of legislation on the establishment of an agricultural policy which, in their opinion, would eliminate the uncertainty about the future that still plagues farmers. Are they right in believing that it would be possible after a couple of decades of uncertainty to convince the farmer that, thanks to a well-written piece of legislation, he will no longer have to worry about what happens tomorrow?

As far as the housing construction industry is concerned the respondents repeat the well-known demands calling for a genuine housing cooperative movement, support for local construction projects that utilize locally available building materials, and the decentralization of regional construction management.

The survey respondents call for the drafting of new plans for the revitalization of the energy and transportation industries. However, this issue is discussed very briefly, which is surprising in view of the fact that energy and transport are today the biggest stumbling blocks standing in the way of the development of the Polish economy.

On the other hand, the survey contains a wide-ranging discussion of a program designed to bring about the proper rescaling of industrial enterprises. This program is concerned mainly with revising policies on small-scale manufacturing and contract services, promoting the growth of these kinds of enterprises and the rebuilding of locally based industries and small manufacturing plants that were wiped out in the wake of the centrally inspired drive to build up gigantic industrial complexes. "It is an absurd situation, writes one of the respondents, "when enterprises employing less than 100 workers account for only 11.3 percent of all Polish enterprises, while the same ratio comes to 88 percent in the FRG and even 51.5 percent in the GDR."

At the end of the economic section the document spells out the long-term goals of the proposed reform, i.e., a change in the role of the economy's central organs, new management methods, the revamping of the planning system, and the restructuring of the economy along lines which make the enterprise the primary vehicle and initiator of all forms of economic activity. Elaborating upon these concepts the respondents, for example, came up with the idea of consolidating the economic ministries by going so far as to create a single ministry of industry, setting up institutions that would function something like oversight councils, institutions that would represent public interests in economic enterprises and function independently of worker representative bodies, and the establishment of some form of worker coownership in selected enterprises.

In order to carry out these reforms it will be essential to obtain foreign loans, and the survey respondents believe that this is feasible provided that effective steps are taken to improve the balance of payments.

The success of these reforms will depend, in the opinion of the survey respondents, on whether the public is going to believe in them and be willing to get involved in the process of carrying them out. This calls for a change in the political climate. In order to avail ourselves of the resources and energy that must be harnessed to this end we must be certain that we are doing all this for our own sake and not for somebody else's sake. "For at the present time," and here we are quoting from the document "How to Get Out of This?" "the will to act is being paralyzed by the fear that our resources and energies are being used up in vain or for somebody else's benefit." Or for somebody else's benefit.... The conviction that Poland is not working for itself, a conviction that is already a cliché and is mushrooming into a public obsession, is in fact one of the principal causes of defective work.

The concluding sections of the survey report dealing with social attitudes, public self-education programs and action programs for the future comprise some typical ideas that are consistent with the views and ideals propounded by members of the opposition movement, e.g., the undertaking of joint action projects designed to reshape public moods and opinion. The text of the DIP report even contains a note of praise addressed to "dissident circles," which in a situation where normal channels for exercising civil rights do not exist, have taken steps to revalidate these rights. But in view of the kinds of people who make up the DIP one should not be surprised by the statement that, "a large number of people in official government circles can be and ought to be natural allies of a reform program." Ought to be? Certainly. Can be? Of course, but those who make the decisions do not want to be, and those at lower levels, even if they wanted to, could not. Which is not to say that among party members, as the survey itself points out, there are no people of good will, as is borne out by their own choice of words in classifying society as being made up of those who govern and those who are governed, by their calls for courage and for exerting collective pressure on the government regardless of personal consequences,

their appeals for the rehabilitation of the truth, the renewal of a genuine public life, and making society responsible for its own destiny, and, above all, by the fact that, regardless of their party membership cards, they have joined other people with different world views in criticizing without mercy the existing political and economic systems.

However, the fact remains that their judgment is still tainted to some degree by their party membership. When we read in the survey's summary that the respondents are of the opinion that there are many institutions in the PRL which can be utilized as forums of civic action and that among these reference is made to such institutions as scientific societies, artists' unions, the cooperative movement and so on, we can only say "nihil obstat" [i.e., they are correct in believing that this is so]. But when this list of useful institutions goes on to mention the Sejm and, of all things, the Central Committee of the PZPR, we are probably not mistaken in assuming that such an idea could only come from a party member. Is there any room for the exercise of civic initiative within the framework of the Central Committee? Any comment in response to this hypothetical question would be superfluous.

It is possible and even necessary--and this is what the sponsors of the survey are trying to encourage--to launch a debate on the views expressed by the survey respondents. And this debate in now or soon will be under way in Poland. For my part I am not urging any debate based on the grab bag of opinions which I have quoted in this article. This would be dangerous. My sole intention was to call attention to the existence of this document and to some of the things said in it.

In conclusion I will quote from a statement made by the editors of this document, a statement to which every Pole could subscribe. The editors spell out the duties of all citizens toward the nation in the form of three rules: "The first rule calls for the preservation of our national identity, which refers not only to the preservation of the heritage of the past, but also and most importantly to the creation of a climate in which the national culture will lead a full and unrestricted life, evolve and change, and be a motivating factor in the spiritual and material endeavors of future generations. The second rule calls upon us to promote the capabilities and skills of democratic cooperation, self-government and a culture of civic-mindedness. This is the course we need to take in order to lay the groundwork for and hasten the day when the nation will become the author of its own history. And, finally, the third rule concerns the taking of steps to boost the economic efficiency of our society and, in a broader sense, to better enable it to live and act as a part of the modern world...."

However, these three rules cannot be complied with now under the terms of any kind of "partnership" with the regime, rather they can only be complied with in spirited opposition to it and by exerting pressure on its official organs.

SOCIAL POLICY OF CONCERN FOR FAMILY NOTED

Societal Attitudes Discussed

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19-20 Jul 80 p 3

[Article by Henryk Jankowski]

[Text] Much of the difficulty in our daily life is due to a malfunctioning of the individual/social group relationship and the smaller social group/larger social system relationship. On the theoretical level, the problem of the relationship of the individual to society has usually been formulated from the point of view of self-interest. It is then demonstrated that the interests of society supersede those of the individual, but at the same time it is stressed that violation of the latter's interests must have serious justification. However, the relationship of the individual to society is seldom thought of in terms of tasks. Thinking in this field is solidly dominated by organizational and management theory. But it is an indisputable fact that attaining benefits depends on the execution of tasks and that the relationship between the individual and society in the sharing of goods derives from the sharing of responsibilities.

The conviction that changes in the general standard of living depend first of all on joint efforts has made its way into the social consciousness. The proclaimed principle of collectivization is accepted by nearly everyone. However, in practice this principle often becomes the basis for a diminished sense of responsibility, and may be manipulated by people who would like to get as much as possible with the least possible effort. It is not often that one can apply the maxim which states that the chain is only as strong as its weakest link. Those weakest links often put in question the rationality and effectiveness of the entire society's efforts. This affects all areas of human endeavor. The best quality products may be completely ruined because of the mismanagement of a relatively good operation, misuse of a produced part, or sloppy packaging and shipping. The best show may be spoiled by the sloppy work of people responsible for the stage set, and one poor teacher may destroy the efforts of a good teaching staff.

Many more examples of the waste of social energy may be given. However, what is important is not the numerous examples but rather certain principles. When speaking about functioning in a community, one cannot say that everyone is equally responsible for everything, whether for errors or successes. All efforts of the whole are comprised of individuals' work, which is fundamental to the success of every undertaking.

To put it another way, the indispensable though still not sufficient condition for the success of larger undertakings is scrupulous, professional and honest performance in every position of the work which the total organization generates for that position.

Thus, the concept of responsibility has first of all an individual character. The direction, cohesion, and effectiveness of work is a function of individual people's actions. Only on this basis is it possible to formulate principles of common responsibility for larger social units. It may be said that the individual's responsibility for what he does is the basis for broader responsibility.

Therefore, if we say that one of the fundamental principles of socialist morality is the principle of collectivization, we must immediately emphasize that the other side of the coin is the individual responsibility of every person for what he does as well as for what he should, but does not, do.

Large Families Need Help

Warsaw, TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19-20 Jul 80 p 3

[Article by Krystyna Kostrzewa]

[Text] ...the fact is that in order to meet the people's natural goals of improving their standard of living it is necessary to relate pay and rewards more closely with the quantity and quality of work accomplished, not to allow unjustified disparities to occur, and always to remember the difficult economic situation which still exists for many families in our country.

The above words were spoken by Comrade Edward Gierek, first secretary of the Central Committee, from the platform of the Eighth PZPR Congress. This was barely several months ago, a short time in which to achieve such an ambitious goal. Summarizing last week's first semiannual meeting of the economic unit of the party and the discussion concerning tasks awaiting us through the current year, the first secretary predicted a speedup in solving certain social problems, especially those closely associated with social inequality and with discord concerning the unjustified disparity in the material conditions of families. What is involved here is improvement in the standard of living of families who are in the most difficult circumstances and who struggle most painfully with everyday problems--families

with many children and a small household budget. A program has been worked out in conformity with the policy of the party, which for years has consistently recognized the precedence of social goals over all else. This program anticipates a solution to four fundamental problems in the first half of next year. What are they, and why those?

For Large Families...

Among the problems requiring a rapid solution is the great need for help to large families. These families, more than others, are burdened with obligations and for that reason live in worse economic conditions. The large size of a family should not be the cause of a too-low living standard in comparison with the nation's current average standard of living, nor should it be the cause of the humiliation which often hangs over a proud family forced to seek help on its own. Large families, more than others, are also affected by all price increases, which today are inevitable due to the various national and worldwide economic problems. What is involved, then, is a plan for increasing family allowances in such a way as to improve the situation of large families to a greater than average degree. Several million children live in such families, therefore this is a far-reaching problem.

...And Single Mothers

The program also addresses itself to the need to give help--greater than heretofore, since such help does exist--to mothers raising children alone. The last national census revealed that 1,107,000 women and 139,000 men are raising children alone. It is obvious that the economic situation of these incomplete families varies. Sometimes it is very good, but often it is very difficult.

Difficult material conditions for the aged are still common in our nation. We created and are effectively implementing in our country a general retirement and annuity system in which the individual rural farming population has also recently been included. The amount of the average pension and annuity is increasing. But there is still a certain group of people who get their pension from the so-called old purse. It is low and, if family support is lacking, inadequate for an old person's upkeep. Increasing these annuities and pensions is an urgent order of the day and the program discussed here deals with this problem.

And finally the fourth matter: increasing minimum wages. These wages were raised in the 1970's, but they are still not high enough, even in a situation where few people are still earning the minimum wage and that group is diminishing each year.

From the Collective Welfare Fund

From the above, it is apparent that, in accordance with the guidelines of the congress, the government is taking steps toward reducing differences in incomes and wages by means of increases in minimum individual wages, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, by proper management of the collective welfare fund which includes annuities and pensions, family allowances, etc. It includes money which in various forms increases the income of many families and at least in part compensates them for the greater expenses and obligations resulting from large family size or other equally serious causes.

The need to increase the income of certain groups of people is associated in the present situation with the rise in prices which always has a negative impact precisely on families with a small budget. We, therefore, want and intend to compensate particularly those people for whom life is hardest for the unfortunate increase in the cost of living. This policy has public approval, especially in a situation where it is necessary to make choices regarding actions and goals.

Thus, public approval is given to the general principle of socialism which was instituted by our party throughout the period of socialist development and which is based on ensuring social welfare for the society, for every family and for every person. In addition to individual income from work, the family has free health care which is still excellent, free education for its children in the schools, help in emergencies and an annuity or pension in case of disability and for old age. Maternity services have been expanded and improved. A worker and his family may periodically take advantage of a government-subsidized vacation. Nor does our morally and physically healthy family need to worry about the fate of its children. Once they have an occupation they have guaranteed work, since we have eliminated unemployment both in economic theory and practice.

And it is all this which creates a feeling of family security. Everything will be expanded and improved. The program of the eight PZPR Congress, like the entire policy of the period following the July 1944 Manifesto with the well-known post-December acceleration, harmoniously links social and economic tasks.

Nine million

That is just it: economic. We have reached the point where we must clearly realize that every social task must be backed by an achieved economic task. Money may be paid out if there is a source for it and if the payments have a backing in the form of goods produced. Otherwise it is impossible. Such is the law of economics. Both individual wages and the collective welfare fund must be worked on.

And it is precisely for this reason that today we place such great emphasis on putting the economy in order and on increasing its efficiency, so as to obtain the funds which are indispensable to the satisfaction of social needs. That refers to the needs which the program specifically outlines and those which await a solution at a somewhat later date. The party is at present devoting its maximum attention to the task of setting the economy in order and increasing its efficiency.

Each of the more than 9 million Polish families must devote itself to that task. From the family, we anticipate complete understanding of the difficult situation and the implementation of an everyday conservation program. It is the family's difficult task to develop in the younger generation feelings of citizenship, responsibility and concern for the general social welfare, and to teach the correct attitude to life based on one's own work and a high consciousness of the country's and the people's needs. The survival of nearly every Polish family, small and large, depends on work. Are we working productively and effectively? Do we not too easily accept waste, extravagance, neglect of responsibilities and common property, and organizational incompetence?

Today everything depends on ourselves: meeting our needs, further economic and social progress, and national security. It depends on our attitude and our sense of responsibility, and on work.

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CEAUSESCU BOOK ON ENERGY, RAW MATERIALS PUBLISHED

AU141321 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1150 GMT 14 Aug 80

[Text] Bucharest, 14 Aug (AGERPRES)--The Bucharest Political Publishing House has put out another book in the collection of selected texts "From the Economic Thinking of President Nicolae Ceausescu." The book "Energy and Raw Materials Resources" thoroughly analyzes problems of high complexity of the national and world economy. President Nicolae Ceausescu has found answers not only to the theoretical aspects of phenomena, but also the practical solutions of the current and future problems of the development, efficient use and economizing on the raw materials and energy resources, SCINTEIA newspaper notes in an extensive survey of the book.

The texts included in this book illustrate the renewing spirit, the analytical power in deciphering the contemporary economic processes, the high responsibility of Romania's president towards the destiny of his people, of mankind. The RCP general secretary enlarges the limits of economic processes including the energy and raw materials resources in the line of the basic factors of economic growth, stresses their role in the general development, in the structural changes of economy. Within the comprehensive structure of the national and world economy, President Nicolae Ceausescu includes and systematically develops the problem of energy and raw materials sources, following it all along the economic processes, starting from geological research up to the recovery of secondary resources, the re-cycling of worn products.

This general outlook on the economic aspects of contemporary life also stresses important problems such as the necessity of intensified efforts for the technico-scientific improvements aiming at raising the final recovery factor of crude, a deeper knowledge of geological and exploitable deposits, the avoidance of any wastes of thermal energy and materials, etc.

The self-sufficiency in energy, an objective of the Romanian programmes for the next decade, is described in this book as a revolutionary work aiming at the protection of energy reserves, the change of the

structure of the national economy's balance, the passage to the intensive use of hydroelectric and nuclear power, of inferior coals, of the alternative sources of energy, at the securing of a substantial growth of economic efficiency by the use of all forms of energy and raw materials.

President Nicolae Ceausescu's clearheadedness is manifest in the special attention he paid, even before the raw material and fuel crisis, to economizing the energy and the raw material resources by improving the efficiency of industrial installations, promoting advanced technologies, reducing specific consumptions, limiting the energy-guzzling production to what is strictly necessary, that is by improving the structure of production. The energy saving criterion will have to govern the very general outlook on the future development of the national economy, stresses the Romanian president, highlighting at the same time the important role to be played in securing the raw materials base, by the principle of higher capitalization of the raw materials base and of secondary resources, by recycling the useful substances and by the recovery of worn out products.

Setting out from a thorough analysis of the complex and contradictory realities of the present world, Romania's president shows in his book that solving the problems of energy and of raw materials should make the object of constructive international collaboration whose basic coordinates should be the observance and strengthening of the national sovereignty and of each country's national control over its natural riches: all the countries' ceasing to waste raw materials and energy, the increase of world reserves by means of wide cooperation and help granted to the developing countries in the use of modern solutions of geological prospection, extraction and capitalization, capitalization of deposits existing in the bottom of seas and oceans, the use of alternative sources of energy.

As Romania has declared, the setting in of just relations between the prices of fuels and raw materials and those of industrial products could be secured only by means of adequate international understanding. This is actually the fundament of the Romanian concept on achieving equitable exchanges between producing and consuming countries.

CSO: 2020

NAVY COMMANDING OFFICER WRITES IN WEST GERMAN JOURNAL

Stuttgart MARINE-RUNDSCHAU in English Jul 80 pp 389, 391, 393

[Article by Ioan Musat, Rear Admiral, commanding officer of the Romanian Navy]

[Text]

Within the defence system of the Socialist Republic of Romania - a country with a coast line extending over more than 240 km on the coast of the Black Sea and comprising a territory through which the Danube river flows for a distance of some 1075 km - the Navy has to accomplish an important role. According to the military doctrine of the Romanian state which is based on the principle of national defence being both a cause and task of the whole nation the Navy in close co-operation with the other branches of the armed forces, the patriotic guards, the military training cadres for the youth, and the other armed formations of the population has been given the mission of protecting the sea and river borders of the country against any potential threat from the exterior, this mission tallying absolutely with the vital interests, the ideals, the freedom, and the independence of the Romanian nation. All this is in accordance with the words of the Chairman of the Socialist Republic of Romania and Commander-in-Chief of the Romanian Armed Forces, Nicolae Ceausescu, who emphasizes, "... true to the policy of both the Party and the State, our Army does not at all have the intention to take any actions against other nations but it has the only task of protecting the peaceful work of the people, the integrity and sovereignty of our country, and of defending its national independence and liberty".

The Romanian Navy carrying on the tradition of heroic deeds as it was created by former naval units has continued developing and perfecting itself in the post-war era.

The solid bases of the profound changes that took place within both the Romanian economy and society in the past three decades of the armed forces as well as all the other branches of the army underwent important shifts with regard to its organizational structure as well as to its equipment and training level. Owing to the constant development of our national economy, the material and financial efforts of the

Romanian state to reinforce the defensive capabilities of our country within rational limits the Navy has been equipped with ships, weapon systems, technical installations, and more modern equipment which, to a large extent, have been furnished by our national industry.

As a result these efforts are reflected by the fact that the Navy has missile-armed ships, various ship types for underwater operations, and other special vessels. Its formations and ships operating both at sea and on the rivers are equipped with electronic computers and steering and control systems as well as with complex radio equipments. To perfect the organizational structure and the military equipment of the Navy both fire power and manoeuvrability were increased; the same is true for the protection against enemy fire as well as for the establishment of an efficient information and communication system to secure control and intership connection during naval actions.

The Romanian Navy succeeded in creating efficient cadres, - commanding officers, staff officers, naval engineers and technicians with a good military, tactical, and specialized training. Within this training and educational programme the naval training centres play an important role; they reach from the Naval School to the Naval Academy »Mircea cel Batrin« (Mircea the Old). Starting from the orientation and the general educational conditions on a national level to consider themselves the main educational factor for instructing the youth these institutions particularly strive to raise the scientific character of the whole sector of instruction, to integrate it into the practical activities on board the ships, and to increase the practical applicability of the subjects instructed. Constant efforts have been made to accomplish an efficient reorganization, a substantial and optimum instruction programme, to improve the instructional activities, and to exploit fully and effectively the modern bases of technical and material facilities of training units such as auditoriums, laboratories and special classrooms equipped with various navigational instruments, simulators, and various electric and electronic systems. To a large extent, the latter were planned, designed, and made by students fully devoted to their fruitful scientific research work. The military training centres of the Navy also have a ship unit such as the training ship *Mircea* which is well known all over the world. On board this ship the students undergo their practical training period periodically; this facilitates their getting acquainted with the requirements at sea and in naval actions. The same is true for duty on rivers.

Within the cadres of the Navy the number of officers, engineers, and assistant engineers who graduated from the Military Academy or passed through a post-university course considerably increased. A special educational centre renders the periodical brushing-up of military knowledge of non-commissioned officers, petty officers, and commissioned naval officers possible and guarantees the uninterrupted development of their abilities in order to always keep abreast of the top achievements of the technical and scientific revolution, navigation and the modern way of warfare.

To achieve success as good instructors and educators of their soldiers and to secure technical progress in the field of arms and equipment the cadres of the Navy are endeavouring by their increased commitment to constantly acquire knowledge

in the fields of higher mathematics, electronics, and cybernetics, psychology, pedagogics, and military sociology in addition to improving their knowledge in military arts and sciences. All this knowledge has been assimilated with, and integrated into, a standardized concept subject to the superior moral obligation of the organization and the leadership based on scientific principles, of the instruction and education of the troops as well, as of the protection of the borders in national waters.

The Navy - as, incidentally, the whole of the Romanian armed forces too - can rely every year on better equipped age classes owing to the development and modernization of the instructional system on a national level. The large majority of draftees of the Navy has graduated from high schools or vocational schools, this fact enabling them to acquire military and maritime knowledge within a relatively short period of time and to adroitly handle all weapon systems and equipments available on board their ships.

With regard to improving the combat power of the Navy the main efforts of the operations staffs, the individual formations, and the naval units are directed towards acquiring a new quality, based, first of all, in all fields of activities on preparatory training for combat. In this sense special stress is put on securing a high degree of effectiveness of every instructional meeting, on the development of the whole process of preparation in accordance with the characteristics of the Romanian coast, the Danube, and the delta as well as with the requirements of war to be met by the whole of the nation.

The main interest of the commanding officers, the operations staffs, and the whole of the cadre personnel is directed towards the further improvement of the capability of all formations and naval units to dynamically conduct all operations in every time of the year and under all weather conditions either independent of, or in cooperation with, other troop units or other elements of the national defence system. The Romanian Navy having to play an important role in protecting and defending the strategic dispositions and build-up in respective directions in case of attack, all tactical exercises strive to make the ship crews react in the same way as in a real combat situation and accomplish the most complex missions in the waters of the Black Sea as well as on the coast or on the Danube river in exploiting the physico-geographic and hydro-meteorological conditions of these areas as well as the technical potential of the equipment. At the same time and in accordance with the national doctrine the whole of the naval personnel is trained to conduct operations on land. For this purpose they have to undergo tactical training as infantrymen and to participate in exercises.

As a matter of course, all these exercises are the fruit of the steadily increasing combat power of the Romanian Navy. Every year the formations and the ship units periodically and in a qualitatively better way fulfil the political plan and the task of preparing for action. All ship crews achieve steadily higher results in their military and specialized training programmes, in firing practice, tactical exercises at sea and on land. Floquent evidence of this fact is the steadily growing number of specialists and the increasing number of those

who are given the title of «Militar de frunte» (distinguished soldier), «Subunitate de frunte» (distinguished small unit) or «Unitate de frunte» (distinguished unit), - titles of honour in the Romanian Armed Forces given to individual soldiers, small units or units who have achieved particular success in training and politics, in all fields of activity.

In organic connection with the combat training intensive educational activities are developed within the Navy, - as within the whole of the Romanian Armed Forces. The sailors and officers of the Navy are developing a high patriotic feeling, respect of the rich traditions of labour and of the fight of the Romanian people and its armed forces, and the pride to carry on the heroic traditions created by the naval units during all the battles for freedom and independence of their country in all centuries. These battles are being fought every day based on the deep love for our country and the devotion to our nation, proud of Romania's present and future, conscious of our duty as soldiers and citizens and of the cohesion of all sons of our country - Romanians, Hungarians, Germans, and members of other nationalities - in the noble thinking of solidarity with the just cause of all working men and nations all over the world. In this sense the various forms and means as well as the technical and economic bases available in all command headquarters and units are used: officers' and soldiers' messes, museums of the different units, press, radio, and television media, libraries, broadcasting stations, and military artist teams and brigades. As a matter of course, the whole of the educational activities of the members of the Navy results in a progressive attitude towards their jobs and their duties, their reproachless conduct both as soldiers and citizens, the execution of all orders and missions they are given without parallel. The results of this work can be seen from the contribution of the Navy to all kinds of scientific research work, from the creative activities of the masses, the cultural performances of the artists and the achievements of the sportsmen within the scope of the national festival «Cintarea României» and within the scope of the national contests of the «Dacia»», respectively.

Together with the whole nation and with all soldiers of the country the members of the Navy firmly support and realize the domestic policy of the Romanian state as well as its foreign policy of developing friendly relations and cooperation with all nations of the world regardless of their social order and based on the principles of respecting independence and national sovereignty, of not interfering with the inner affairs of other nations, of not using force or threatening them with armed aggression, and of respecting the holy rights of every nation to determine its fate without foreign interference. In accordance with this policy the Romanian Navy keeps friendly relations to many nations of the world, receives visits of foreign warships which offer opportunities to friendly meetings of sailors of the Romanian Navy with those of many other countries. Likewise, the training ship *Mircea* carries out many training cruises on all oceans and pays visits to ports and harbours of many countries to bring them the message of peace and friendship with the Romanian nation.

On their duty stations the sailors of the Romanian Navy are determined guards of the sea and river borders of their country who are always ready to defend the liberty, the independence, and the sovereignty of the Socialist Romanian Republic together with all soldiers of their country and the whole of the nation.

CSO: 2020

BRIEFS

U.S. BUSINESSMAN'S REMARKS--Bucharest, 21 Aug (AGERPRES)--In a statement made in New York for the Bucharest weekly LUMEA of August 21 Milton Rosenthal, president of "Engelhard Mineral and Chemicals" Company, head of the Romanian-American Economic Council, shows that the commercial relations between the U.S.A. and Romania have considerably expanded since the last session of the council reaching this year one billion dollars. I consider, he said, that the presidents of our countries have greatly contributed to the fulfillment of the council's objective, also through the messages addressed to the sessions of this council. Referring to the factors able to secure stable bases to bilateral exchanges Milton Rosenthal showed that the development of reciprocal commercial relations on the basis of the most-favoured-nation clause has been and still is an essential condition of encouraging a stable bilateral commerce. This clause is like a binding material between the two sides. I have visited Romania and I may say that I can hardly separate my own feelings from the joint effort made for the good progress of bilateral cooperation. I strongly believe that the peoples and nations having economic and commercial relations get closer to one another. The contribution of economic collaboration to securing peace and understanding among peoples seems to me the most important thing. [Text] [AU211823 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1740 GMT 21 Aug 80]

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